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DUKE OF KENT.

In the Register of the 14th of August last, I took occasion to repel certain calumnies, which Mr HERIOT, the Editor of the ministerial paper called the True Briton, had published against his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, relative to his Royal Highness's government of Gibraltar. Having myself lived, for several years, near the seat of the Duke's command in America, having had an opportunity of seeing the garrison of Halifax just before his return to England, and having, from my own observation as well as from the accounts which I was daily in the habit of hearing from some of the most respectable persons at Halifax, contracted the highest degree of admiration of his conduct in every department committed to his charge, I felt not a little indignation as well as surprize at seeing his Royal Highness assailed with so much malignity, in an English print, and in a print, too, well known to be supported with the public money. I endeavoured briefly to state the grounds of Mr. Heriot's misrepresentations, and promised to take some future opportunity of speaking more in detail on the subject; a promise, which I am now about to fulfil.

On the arrival of his Royal Highness at Gibraltar, the garrison exhibited a scene of licentiousness, irregularity, and drunkenness, that shocked every stranger to behold. The streets daily swarmed with crowds of drunken soldiers; the inhabitants were often most wantonly and grossly insulted, and hardly a week elapsed without violence being offered to some of the women, generally attended with the most aggravating circumstances. In a few weeks after the Duke's arrival, some soldiers of the 54th regiment were convicted on the clearest evidence of having violated two Spanish women at noonday, in the sight of several of the inhabitants, who were prevented from rescuing them, by the bayonet of the very centinel near whose post the deed was committed; to such a pitch was licentiousness carried. Every officer and soldier, when not on duty, dressed as he chose; the soldiers were in the constant habit of working and carrying water for the inhabitants, and the money thus acquired, was immediately spent in drunkenness and debauchery, to the great injury of their health and morals. Nothing like system or regularity prevailed in any one point, either in dressing, exercising, or manœuvring together. An account of these abuses had for some time reached England, and, from his conduct in America, his Royal Highness was chosen as one of the persons, who was most likely to restore order and subordination in the garrison. He was sent out to reform, and he certainly has justified the choice that was made, as in less than five months time, he has effected one of the most complete, and salutary reforms that ever was accomplished. Order and tranquillity are restored, drunkenness is most completely abolished, the health of the troops is so much improved, that except the remains of the Egyptian opthalmia, there are not twenty sick men in the garrison. The different regiments are now neatly and uniformly dressed, according to the King's regulations, and in point of marching, exercising, and manœuvring, the garrison is now certainly equal, if not superior, to most regiments in the service. To complete such a reform without some necessary examples, would have been impossible, but no officer could have brought it about with less punishments. None but crimes of magnitude have been punished with flogging, lesser offences have been invariably commuted into a certain number of days solitary confinement or labour on the public works. With respect to the inhabitants, they certainly now enjoy a degree of protection and security, both in person and property, that they never before experienced. No person can insult or injure them with impunity; and the laws of England are administered with as much impartiality and justice as they are in Westminster Hall. On His Royal Highness's arrival, no police of any kind existed, and the trade of the place was burthened with a number of impolitic and oppressive fees, the whole of which he has completely abolished. Salutary regulations have also been adopted by

His Royal Highness, respecting the public markets, the butchers, bakers, carmen, wine houses, &c. and all those points, on which so much of the comfort and prosperity of every town depends. Regular canteens for the troops have been established near every barrack in proper hands, where they are supplied with unadulterated wine, and all the lower class of wine-houses, which were a sink of profligacy and debauchery, have been shut up, though in so doing his Royal Highness has very considerably diminished the emoluments of the government, which chiefly arose from duties upon the wine sold in the wine-houses. The beneficial effects of his Royal Highness's measures, have already begun to be most sensibly felt; population has exceedingly increased since his arrival, property has risen considerably in value, and the trade of the place is in a most flourishing state.

Mr. Heriot's conduct, in attacking a personage, who, on so many accounts, ought to be, and is, so dear to the heart of every loyal subject of his Majesty, cannot fail to excite the indignation of the public; but, odious as it is in itself, it is infinitely more so, when the *motive*, the low, selfish, vindictive motive of it is known.

At the time when his Royal Highness went out the last time to America, as Commander in Chief, Mr. Heriot's brother, who is settled at Quebec, was Clerk of the Cheque to the Ordnance, and, at the same time, Deputy Storekeeper-General to the Army. As the two employments, for very obvious and very forcible reasons, appeared to be incompatible, his Royal Highness found it to be his duty to insist upon Mr. Heriot's brother resigning one of them, which was, however, left to his own choice, and he, in consequence, gave up the latter appointment. Previous to this, the True Briton had, on all occasions, been the loudest and foremost in praise of the Duke's character and conduct; but, since, it has never mentioned his name with approbation. Mr. Heriot's brother discovered great anger, not unaccompanied with some grains of insubordination and insolence, at losing one of his employments, and Mr. Heriot himself, from his late malignant insinuations respecting his Royal Highness, may be fairly supposed to have entered into all his brother's feelings.

To superficial observers it may appear wrong, that a hungry expectant should be sent out to Canada to occupy two places, either of which would have yielded a very comfortable maintenance and a very suitable reward, for an invalid military officer, or, would, if bestowed on some worthy native of the province, have secured to his Majesty's government the attachment of a family, probably numerous in itself and extensive in its connexions; but, to those who examine the thing more closely, it will appear, that two places, nor even twenty places, would be too many for any one, recommended by Mr. Heriot, whose virtues, I am sorry to say it, seem, by persons in general, to be but very imperfectly known. The envious world think only of the revenue which this man receives, they do not, or will not, consider how dearly he earns it: they do not consider, that what he does, no other man with a soul in his body would condescend to do. In this light it is that *the Postmaster-General* seems to have viewed his merits; for, since his brother was required by the Duke of Kent to give up one of the army places, he has been appointed Postmaster-General in Canada, and that too, in direct opposition to his Royal Highness, who had recommended another person to that station.—But, what is the recommendation of the Duke of Kent compared to that of a Secretary of the General Post Office, *who is also, it is said, partner with Mr. Heriot in the newspaper called The Sun!*

WM. COBBETT.

WASHINGTON AND LA FAYETTE.

Every thing tending to ascertain the real characters of these men, who, however trifling their intrinsic greatness, have, by reason of the transactions in which they have been concerned, attained to a considerable importance in the world, merits the attention of the politician. Under this persuasion it is, that I am now induced to notice a letter, respecting these two persons, which appeared in the London Morning Chronicle of the 22d instant, signed ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

This letter, which, it would seem, the Editor of the Morning Chronicle copied from a New-York paper, but which, I am pretty certain, was published in London by desire of some one, at least, of the parties concerned, is intended to destroy the authenticity of a statement, contained in the Anti-Jacobin Review, relative to Washington and La Fayette. The Reviewer, by way of introduction to his criticism on a pamphlet of Gen. ALEXANDER HAMILTON, took occasion, as is very common, to give some little account of the author, who, in his progress to that eminent station, which he has ar-

rived at in the United States, was found, at one time, in the American army, at the siege of York Town, in Virginia, where Lord Cornwallis put an end to the American war by a transaction bearing no very weak resemblance to that by which he put an end to the war with France.—Washington granted him terms of *capitulation*, and Joseph Buonaparté did no more.

But, to return to my revolutionary heroes: the Anti-Jacobin Review stated, in substance, that, at the storming of the two British redoubts, at York Town, La Fayette, with the approbation or connivance of Washington, ordered Gen. HAMILTON (then a Colonel), as the officer who was to command the attack of one of the redoubts, *to put to death all those who might happen to be taken in the redoubt*; and that Colonel Hamilton and his American soldiers, through motives of humanity, forbore to execute the order.—Such was the statement of the Anti-Jacobin Review. Let us now see Gen. Hamilton's contradiction.

"*New-York, August* 10, 1802.—Finding "that a story, since propagated under cir- "cumstances which it was expected would "have soon consigned it to oblivion (and "by which I have been complimented at "the expense of Generals Washington and "La Fayette), has of late been revived, and "has acquired a degree of importance by "being repeated in different publications, "as well in Europe as America, it becomes "a duty to counteract its currency and in- "fluence by an explicit disavowal.—The "story imports in substance, that General "La Fayette, with the approbation or con- "nivance of General Washington, ordered "me, as the officer who was to command "the attack on a British redoubt in the "course of the siege of York Town, to put "to death all those of the enemy who "should happen to be taken in the re- "doubt; and that through motives of hu- "manity I forbore to execute the order.— "*Positively and unequivocally I declare, that* "*no such or similar order, nor any intimation* "*or hint resembling it, was ever by me receiv-* "*ed, or understood to have been given.*—It is "needless to enter into an explanation of "some occurrences on the occasion alluded "to, which may be conjectured to have "given rise to the *calumny*.—It is enough "to say, they were entirely unconnected "with any or either of the two Generals "who have been accused.—*A. Hamilton.*"

Now, as it was I who communicated, to the Editor of the Anti-Jacobin Review, the information, on which the statement, here so flatly contradicted, was made, it is a duty which I owe to that editor and to the world, to produce the authority, on which my information was founded. I could here appeal to every candid American, at all conversant in the history of the war, whether he has not always understood the facts now in question to be true; and, I could declare, upon my word and honour, that two persons (whose names I shall not, for their sakes, now mention), who were officers in the American army at York Town, have, more than once, given, in my hearing, a statement perfectly similar to that which Gen. Hamilton now contradicts: in fact, the circumstance is as generally known and believed in America as any one circumstance of the whole war. But, in a case where the character of any man is at stake, neither private conversation nor public report and general belief, is sufficient. My authority is *a History of the American Revolution*, written and published under circumstances, of which I shall speak, after extracting the passage alluded to.

"The redoubts, which were advanced "about 200 yards on the left of the British, "greatly impeded the progress of the com- "bined armies. An attack on these was "therefore proposed.—To excite a spirit of "emulation, the reduction of the one was "committed to the French; of the other to "the Americans. The light infantry of the "latter were commanded by the Marquis "de la Fayette; and the service was allot- "ted to a select corps. The Marquis said "to General Washington, 'The troops "*should retaliate on the British, for the cruel-* "*ties they have practised.*' The general "answered, 'You have full command, "and *may order as you please.*' The Mar- "quis ordered the party to remember New "London,* and to retaliate, *by putting the* "*men in the redoubt to the sword after having* "*carried it.* The men marched to the as- "sault with unloaded arms, at dark, on the "night of the 14th, passed the abatis, and "palisades, and attacking on all sides, car- "ried the redoubt in a few minutes, with

* This *remembering of New London* was a paltry excuse of the vindictive Fayette, for his bloody purpose. There was *no killing of* PRISONERS at New London. The *battle*, indeed, continued after the British troops were in the fort, but it only continued, because the Americans kept firing upon our troops from the windows of the barracks; and a negro was shot in the very act of conveying fire to the magazine, over which there were a great number of British officers and soldiers. No man was killed at the storming of this fort, *after resistance had ceased.*

" the loss of 8 killed, and 28 wounded. " Lieut. Col. Laurens personally took the " commanding officer. The colonel's humanity and that of the Americans, so effectually overcame their resentment, that " they spared the British. When bringing " them off as prisoners, they said among " themselves, 'Why! how is this? *We* " *were ordered* to put them to death.' Being asked by others, why they had not " done it, they answered, 'We could not, " when they begged and cried so upon their " knees for their lives' About five of " the British were killed, and one major, " one captain, one ensign and 20 privates " captured. Col. Hamilton, who conducted the enterprise with much address and " intrepidity, in his report to the marquis, " mentioned, to the honour of the detachment,—*that incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocations, they spared every man that ceased to resist.*"

Now, upon the origin and character of the work, from which this extract is taken, the justification of the statement in the Anti-Jacobin Review will wholly depend. The extract is made, then, from the History of the American Revolution, contained in the *American* edition of the Encyclopœdia Britannica: for the reader to be fully convinced, that the authority is purely of American growth, he need only be informed of the following circumstances, which, were they even not at all connected with the present subject, are very well worth knowing.

The Encyclopœdia Britannica was republished, in the city of Philadelphia, by Mr. Dobson, who commenced it with a very extensive and respectable subscription. It was delivered in half volumes, the first of which appeared in 1793, or early, perhaps, in 1794, and, under the letter A, it, of course, contained a history of the American revolution; but not the same history of that event, which is to be found in the English edition, and which, *not being favourable enough to the Americans*, was laid aside, and another, written by a vile English renegado, substituted in its place. This man, as is customary with persons of his description, entertained, still entertains, and has, on all occasions, discovered, an implacable hatred against his lawful Sovereign and native country; yet, when the overflowing of his gall came to appear in print, it was not found to be half bitter enough for some of Mr. Dobson's subscribers; a great number of whom consulted together, and deputed certain persons, amongst whom was the provost of the university, to inform him, that the account of the American revolution, pulished by him, " would not do;" and that, if he did not cancel it, and admit in its place another account written by them, or some one or more of them, they would withdraw their names from his subscription, and do his work all the injury in their power. Dobson is a very good and a very sensible man; but his all, and more than his all, was involved in the success of his Encyclopœdia. He had no alternative, but submission or ruin. He chose the former; and as the half volume was already published and issued, he was obliged to take this third version of the story, print it, sew it up, and send it out to all his subscribers, with a direction to them to cancel the account already in the half volume, and to put this new one in its place. From *this* history it is that the above extract is taken.

The British public, to whom General Hamilton has, through the Morning Chronicle, appealed, must now decide between the general's present declaration and the statement of the Encyclopœdia, which statement the general has suffered to pass *ten whole years uncontradicted.* The general will not, I am sure, pretend, that he *never saw* the statement in the Encyclopœdia. That work was subscribed to by the President, by every member of the Congress, by all the state governments officially, and to my own knowledge, *by General Hamilton himself.* The particular article here cited, of the work, has, moreover, been reprinted, in a small volume for *the use of schools in America*, and, in this form, it has gone through several editions. If, then, it does contain a " *calumny*" on Generals Washington and La Fayette, if General Hamilton be "*falsely praised at their expense*," the *calumny* and *falsehood* rest upon *American* shoulders.

As to *the fact*, I am, for my part, fully persuaded, that the statement of the Encyclopœdia is, in this respect, strictly true; and I ascribe the contradiction of General Hamilton to nothing more than a desire of removing from himself the imputation, which the Jacobins of the United States are now preferring against him, *of building his fame upon the ruin of that of General Washington.* How far public reasons may, in the present critical situation of affairs in that country, tend to tolerate such a motive of action, I shall not pretend to say; but, I know, that,

as a public writer here, and particularly as the person who communicated the statement to the Anti-Jacobin Review, it is my duty to prevent, as far as in me lies, the propagation of any thing tending to destroy the validity of that statement, and to varnish over the characters of Washington and La Fayette. WM. COBBETT.

The following letter we copy from the Morning Post. For the honour of the country, we hope, that the suggestion of the writer is true. We shall, however, be obliged to any correspondent, who can ascertain the fact.

" Sir,—I cannot refrain from expressing the surprise which I, in common with many serious persons, your constant readers and well-wishers, feel, at your having been so far imposed upon as to admit into your paper, that burlesque account of a Ball at Reading, in which Mr. Addington is made to have addressed to the company, after supper, a speech in praise of the peace *, and of the neighbourhood of Reading, which really one should think too absurd to have been for a moment mistaken for genuine.—Political hostility fairly justifies some degree of liberty with facts, and some good-humoured laugh at personal foibles or vanities. But surely, Sir, the friends of Mr. Addington have a right to complain that you push this license rather too far, when you suffer your paper to be made the vehicle of a misrepresentation so gravely and circumstantially stated, as not to betray itself even to the discerning, for (what it must be) a *joke*; and at the same time so very disparaging to the good sense and good taste of the gentleman who is the object of it, as necessarily to cover him with ridicule in the eyes of all plain men, who take what they read as literally true.—Mr. Addington may not possess first-rate talents: he may have made a peace not the very best that ever was made, nor apparently likely to be the most lasting. But he is not a man to commit so gross a blunder as in a public harangue, certain to be printed in all the newspapers, and circulated throughout the whole Empire, to pay " the people" the compliment of being the authors of the peace, just at the moment when the people are beginning, however unreasonably, to feel themselves heartily ashamed of it: or to call public attention to the " vigour of government," at a moment when, I am sorry to say, the most timid and pacific are heard asking each other in the streets, whether France could venture to trample upon us and upon Europe, as she is now doing, if Great-Britain had a government with " the vigour of a " Flea?"—It is utterly incredible that Mr. Addington's good sense should have been betrayed into so ridiculous a *contretems*; even if it were possible (which assuredly it is not) that his good taste could suffer him to enter into a defence of his Administration at a Ball Supper; or, by way of contributing his share to the amusement of the evening, to repeat an old House of Commons' Address in his solemn way, before an audience of dancing Misses, and Negus-swigging Fiddlers.—I trust, therefore, to see a formal contradiction of the paragraph in your next paper.—I am, Sir, your's,

A Lover of Truth and Decorum.

Reading, Oct. 8.

* Besides describing himself as " the instrument " in the hands of Divine Providence for procuring " to the nation the blessings of peace," he is said to have told his auditors, that the most disagreeable circumstance of his elevated situation, was, the obliging him to reside at a distance from them, amongst whom he spent so many happy days.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Note given in to the Deputation of the Empire by the French Legation, relative to the new general Plan of Indemnities.

The undersigned Minister Extraordinary from the French Republic to the German Diet, has received of the Austrian Plenipotentiary the *Conclusum* which the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire voted in their sitting of the 8th of September, with the reserve of further modifications which might be adopted in the plan of Indemnities contained in the declaration of the mediating powers of the 30th of Thermidor (18th of August). He has likewise received the reclamations, remarks, and petitions, which, by subsequent Conclusa, have been transmitted by the deputation to the ministers of the mediating powers for their consideration. The undersigned, in concert with the Imperial Russian minister, has carefully examined these, and having now received the final instructions of the mediating powers in consequence of the reclamations, remarks, and petitions, that have been transmitted to them either immediately or by their ministers, he has the honour to present to the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire, for its immediate and definitive acceptance, the additions made to the declaration of the 18th of August, as now modified, completed, and amended; additions conformable to the fulfilment of the treaty of Luneville, and the principles by which the two powers have been guided in their interference and mediation. He flatters himself that the deputation will acknowledge with gratitude this new proof of the attention of the mediating powers to the welfare of the German Empire. It will likewise see how useful have been the representations which its members have made with equal zeal and patriotism. The

undersigned, however, cannot with sufficient force remind the deputation, how great is the pressure of circumstances, and of how much importance it is, that, by a speedy and final decision, the German Empire may enjoy the effects of the friendly sentiments of the mediating powers. The deputation will certainly not forget that the term (of two months) prescribed by the said powers for the fulfilment of the public hopes, is nearly expired.—Ratisbon, 16th of Vendemiaire, (8th of October).—*La Forêt.*

(A Note exactly similar was delivered in at the same time by Baron Buhler for the Russian Legation).

Manifesto of Count Mocenigo, Minister Plenipotentiary, on his arrival at Corfu.

"The Emperor of all the Russias, my august Master, informed of the troubles which have disorganized the Republic, and being deeply affected by learning the evils to which you have been abandoned by anarchy, has formed the generous resolution of re-establishing among you order and tranquillity. My august Sovereign, faithful to the treaties by which he has engaged to guarantee your political existence, has sent me to co-operate with you in his name, and to restore peace among you. I therefore invite all the inhabitants in general, and individually, to second me, with all their power, in this enterprize. The land and naval forces which you see assembled, will unite their means to your's. They are destined to promote the reign of public tranquillity, to enforce obedience to the laws, and to the government, and to protect the inviolability of its members, and that of all property, both public and private. I am furnished with sufficient instructions and full powers. Manifest dispositions favourable to the establishment of public order, by abjuring all hatred; range yourselves under the protecting ægis of his Imperial Majesty, and you will obtain an assurance, by means of his powerful intervention, of maintaining your independence, your safety, and general felicity. This is the only price that my august Sovereign requires for all his beneficent intentions; and for myself I seek for no other reward for the care which I shall constantly employ, than that of having contributed to this end with all the fervour of my zeal.

(Signed) "*Count George Mocenigo,*
August 21, 1802. Plenipotentiary."

Answer of the Diet of Schwitz to the Proclamation of Buonaparté,

"Citizen First Consul—The Proclamation which you did us the honour to send to us on the 30th of Sept. by Citizen Rapp, your Adjutant-General, arrived at Schwitz on the 6th of October.—We could have wished that the letter we took the liberty of sending you, General First Consul, on the 30th of September, could have reached you sooner; it contains a faithful exposition of the present state of Switzerland. Permit us to send you inclosed a duplicate of it, and to entreat you to receive it favourably. It will prove to you that the movements which have taken place in Switzerland are not the result of a spirit of party, and that the Swiss nation has no other object in view than to make use of the right which she claims of giving herself a central and cantonal constitution, founded on her position and her wants—a sacred and precious right, which you deigned yourself, to ensure her by the treaty of Luneville.—Switzerland would long since have been tranquil, if the members of the Helvetic government, those obscure metaphysicians, had consulted the real state of affairs, instead of obstinately attaching themselves to theoretic attempts, as erroneous as they are expensive.—The violence with which they have tried to impose their system upon the democratic cantons, the civil war they have organized to attain their end, directed at first against those cantons, then against all Switzerland; the unexampled severity with which they have done it, have produced a discontent equally general and just, and a determined and avowed will to shake off this unsupportable yoke.—It is not then, General First Consul, an affair of party—it is the sacred cause of humanity, it is the general wish of a whole nation, which has given us our power and our instructions, of a nation which you yourself wished to free, and which has been ill-treated and irritated, contrary to your intentions.—Yet that nation, we render ourselves guarantees, will never abuse the liberty it claims. The Swiss have nothing more at heart than to attain a state of repose, in which, under the shield of a mild and just government, each inhabitant may enjoy his property and existence. We are convinced that we shall arrive at that essential object of all social order, from the moment our will and our efforts shall be no longer fettered.—General First Consul, all Europe admires in you the supreme head of an immense power and empire, which, without doubt, according to your own views, will be directed to the good of humanity; your magnanimity assures us, that you will not make use of it against a people who only desire what you have made them hope, and who only wish what they believe themselves authorized to do by yourself.—Penetrated with eternal gratitude, the Swiss nation will do its endeavour to deserve the good will of the French government; and will fulfil all the duties which are imposed upon it by the desire of cultivating good neighbourhood.—It is with the most distinguished respect that we remain, General First Consul,

"*The Deputies of the Helvetic Diet.*
"*Schwitz, Oct.* 8, 1802."

Proclamation of the Council of War of the Swiss League to their Brothers in arms.—Dated Basle, Oct. 12, 1802.

Friends and brothers, when you separated yourselves from your wives, your children, your fathers, and your friends, to conquer for your children, liberty, independence, and prosperity, you abandoned with alacrity and courage your cottages, and your flocks. This idea, "the God "of our fathers is with us, and protects us," gave you force to brave all the dangers, and to despise the fatigues of war. You quitted with songs your mountains and your valleys, to enter into the field and defend the cause of liberty and your country. The Almighty blessed your arms, and heard the just wishes of a nation *known only by its uprectitude*, and which had armed for its liberty and independence. Our enemies, our oppressors, the *soi-disant* Helvetic government, with its feeble party, have been chased almost to the frontiers of the confederate Cantons.—But brothers and friends, we have received a notification, that if we did not by our conduct give proofs of an entire confidence in the First Consul

of the powerful nation of France, who has caused a declaration to be made by his Envoy, General Rapp, to our fathers assembled at Schwitz, that he wishes to interpose as mediator in the war which we are carrying on against the odious Helvetic government, we should be compelled to it by the victorious arms of the French warriors.—Brothers, friends, confederates, who among us could conceive the thought of menacing ourselves with the numerous and experienced armies of France? No, friends, no; *we wish to await peaceably the determination of the First Consul*, and with that order, that moderation, and that discipline, which have hitherto guided your steps, you will receive, we are convinced, the orders of your superiors, of your general; and even, if it should be necessary, you will return to your residences, in order that our country may not be exhausted by the entrance of foreign troops; that we may not be deprived of the scanty harvest of this year, which we hoped to consume with our children; and that we may not be plunged into indigence and misery. It is only the Helvetic government, directed by its passions and its private interest, that could call in the aid of foreign troops; we, who took up arms only for our country and tranquillity, have no need of troops to attain our object. But, relying on our conduct, we dare to hope, that *the First Consul of France, who has guaranteed our independence*, and who has been deceived by false reports, will, as soon as he shall have been informed of the true state of things, *take measures, which will secure our honour, and the prosperity and independence of our country.* May the Almighty deign to grant this, who has caused us to make an important step towards our future happiness, and crowned our arms with his benediction.

Copy of a letter from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to MR. DE CETTO, *the Bavarian Minister at Paris, relative to the affairs of Switzerland.*

Paris, Oct. 15, 1802.—Sir, The relations of neighbourhood which exist between Bavaria and Switzerland, and which ought to render yet more secure the new acquisitions which his Electoral Highness has made in Germany, call for his particular attention to the late events of which Helvetia has been the theatre. That country has long been divided. The influence of intrigue and money, has hitherto prevented the government which had been established by the suffrages of the majority of the people, from becoming firmly established, and acquiring the power necessary to its preservation.—Whilst the opposition was confined to insidious and obscure menaces, the First Consul did not think it his duty to interfere in discussions to which circumstances, and the influence of the general peace of Europe, promised to put an end. But at length the enemies of the Helvetic people attempted a more open opposition. Blood was shed, and Helvetia was menaced with ruin.—In this frightful conjuncture of affairs, the wishes of all demanded the mediation of the First Consul. The party even who had taken up arms against the government, led away by the opinion of men who had deceived them, now saw the necessity of solemnly claiming the mediation of France.—The continental powers, neighbours of Helvetia, could not view without fear, the remote consequences of a disorder, the focus of which was established in that country; and in this state of affairs, the humanity, and the interest of France, and of Europe, demanded of the First Consul that he should desist from acting upon the determination which he had taken, not to intermeddle in the affairs of Switzerland. He has spoken as a mediator and a friend, and Helvetia has been pacified. The people have returned to their homes. Those simple and just men, seeing that they had been abused, have menaced with violence the chiefs who sought to slander France, and who in their public acts were permitted to outrage her. General contempt now does justice to their clamours.—Such, Sir, are the facts which I have thought it my duty to communicate to you. The First Consul did not wish to abandon a country which stands in need of the friendship of France, and which, without the benefit of her influence, would have passed in a short time through all the horrors of anarchy under their ancient yoke, which they had so happily broken.—But at the time that he recognized the necessity of assisting the Helvetic nation to fix at length for itself, and in an irrevocable manner, its constitutional destiny, he did not cease for a moment to recollect, that the more perfect independence ought to be the basis of its constitution. The right of organizing a government which Helvetia has acquired, is one of the glorious results of the war which France supported against the most powerful armies of Europe, and of the treaties by which that war was terminated.—It is because Helvetia holds this right by the victories and the benevolent policy of France, that the First Consul wishes now to protect the exercise of it, and to prevent a handful of turbulent emigrants, deserters from foreign armies, who wished to carry fire and sword into their country, from succeeding in their attempt to deprive of their rights the greater part of their fellow-citizens.—It is not by such men that the treaty of Luneville can be invoked as to what respects Helvetia, but by the larger portion of the people whom they wished to oppress, and whose independence is guaranteed by that treaty. Are these men so estimable, or so important a part of Helvetia, as Argovia, the Pays de Vaud, and the Bailiwics formerly subject, whose political rights were guaranteed by France, not only in the treaty of Luneville, but in all those which, since the war, have strengthened the ancient ties between France and Helvetia?—There are those who seek to spread a report that the Helvetic Republic may be led by a spirit of imitation to establish with the First Consul those relations which unite him to the Italian Republic. But this idea is very far from the intention of the First Consul, who is inimical to all such determination, and whose formal intention is to assist in the organization of Switzerland, only for the purpose of ensuring to that country an absolute independence.—I am persuaded, Sir, that you will be extremely desirous to transmit to his Electoral Highness the communications which I have the honour to make to you, and of which there is no necessity for me to appreciate the importance.—Receive the assurance of my high consideration.—

(Signed) *Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.*

Letter of the French and Russian Ministers to the Directoral Minister at Ratisbon.—Dated Ratisbon, Oct. 15, 1802.

As the principles inseparably connected with

the distribution of the indemnities in the declarations made in the name of the mediating powers, on the 18th of August last, and reproduced with modifications, which they consented to in the general plan of the 8th of October, ought to be entirely comprehended in the *Conclusum*, which the extraordinary deputation is about to form immediately: in regard to the whole, the undersigned (minister extraordinary of the French Republic, and the minister plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia) take the earliest opportunity of proposing, after the enlightened reflections made to them by several of the sub-delegates, that the eleventh of these principles be announced in the following manner: —Eleventhly, the preceding dispositions render of no avail the pretensions which existed, both to the territories become French, and to those which existing to property given in the room of others on the Left Bank of the Rhine, shall not be produced, examined, and settled in an amicable manner within the course of a year. —This mode of expression, which at first seemed sufficiently explicit, according to the term fixed in the twelfth principle, for every transaction whatever, expresses better indeed the provident intention of the mediating powers, and corrresponds better to the solicitude of the deputation for the general good.

(Signed) Laforet. Baron de Buhler.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Corfu, Aug. 30.—The Secretary of the Russian Legation, M. Nemerofski, yesterday killed himself in his own apartments. He discharged two pistols into his body. His manners had conciliated the esteem of every body, and particularly of his Excellency Count Mocenego, the Russian Plenipotentiary.

Leghorn, Sept. 29.—Their Majesties the King and Queen of Etruria arrived here on the 26th, and the next morning embarked with the young Prince on board the Princess Louisa, of 120 guns, and at eleven o'clock the whole Spanish squadron sailed with a fair wind for Barcelona. They were saluted at their departure with 101 discharges of artillery from this fortress.

Ratisbon, Oct. 8—The Supplementary Declaration has not yet made its appearance officially; but yesterday, a courier from Paris having arrived the day before, it was fully approved of in a conference between the envoys of Brandenburgh, Bavaria, Wurtemburgh, Hesse, and Mentz. It contains many additions and changes: the Maltese Order now loses all its indemnities, and the Teutonic Order receives several; Mentz receives a million of revenue, partly from immediate territory, which will now include Ratisbon and Wetzlar, and partly from the revenues of mediate foundations. Solms Braunfelt receives a voice in the Council of Princes. The six remaining Imperial cities will continue a college, but without having a vote on peace and war. Hesse Cassel receives no further indemnifications, but a considerable addition is made to those of Wurtemburgh, as for example, the Abbey of Sconthal, assigned in the former declaration to the Count of Liningen Westerburgh; the territory of Comburgh, near Schwabish, Hall, &c. Brunswick, in consequence of the possession it receives in the bishopric of Osnabrug, will either cede a tract of land to Mecklenburgh, or pay yearly a sum of money.—In the 12th sitting of the Deputation of the Empire, on the 5th October, the various claims and remonstrances were again taken into consideration. The Elector of Treves gave in a similar memoir to that delivered by the Archbishoprick of Cologne. It was stated, on the part of the Archduke Ferdinand, that the revenue of the Duchy of Modena was 1,500,000 Imperial florins, while that of the Brisgau was only 104,119 florins.

Oct. 10.—Yesterday in the 13th sitting of the Deputation, the new plan of indemnities was presented. The Deputation will immediately take it into consideration. Brandenburgh, Bavaria, Wirtemburg, Hesse Cassel, and Mentz, have already approved the general plan.—It was said and expected that this would be merely a supplementary plan to that given in on the 18th of August, but the supplementary matter is inserted in the former plan, so as to form an enlarged general plan of indemnities. It contains thirty-four sections, and is printed in four sheets. It will be seen from the following extracts that the Grand Duke of Tuscany receives by it no further indemnification.—Sect. 1. contains the indemnifications of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, which are the same as in the former plan, only that it is determined that the county of Neuburg, on the left side of the Inn, with all its territorial and seignorial rights, shall be united to Bavaria.—Sect. 2. Bavaria shall receive the town and suburbs of Passau, together with all that appertains to it beyond the Inn and the Iltz, and a circle of 500 klafters from the extreme end of the said suburbs; as also the Abbeys of Waldsassen and Eberach, with exception of all rights, properties, and ecclesiastical revenues, which lie in the city and territory of Augsburgh.—Sect. 3. Prussia receives all the rights and property of Mentz, in Thuringia, as also the Abbey of Kappenberg. The rest of the Bishopric of Munster, which is not given to Prussia, is alloted to several princes.—Sect. 4. To the King of England and Elector of Brunswick Lunenburg, for his claims to the county of Sayn Altenkirchen, Hildersheim, Corvey, and Hoster, and his rights and property in the cities of Hamburgh and Bremen, and in the territory of the latter, as shall be hereafter particularly stipulated, and for the cession of the district of Wildshausen—the Bishopric of Osnabruck. To the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, the Abbeys of Gandersheim and Helmstadt, under condition of paying a constant rent of 2000 florins to the Princess Amelia of Dessau.—Sect, 5. The Margrave of Baden receives likewise the Nessian districts Lichtenau and Wildstadt; the Abbeys of Reichenau, Ocheningen, the provostship and Chapter of Odenheim, and the immediate and mediate rights and possessions which depend on the public establishments and corporations on the Left Bank of the Rhine, and to the south of the Neckar.—Sect. 6. The Duke of Wirtemburgh receives likewise Schonthal, Camburg, with their sovereignties, as also Rothminster, Heiligenthal, Obristenfeld, Holzhausen, Margareth-hausen, and all the abbeys, convents, and chapters in the same, on paying certain constant rents to different princes.—Sect. 7. The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel receives for his claims to Corvey, the Mentz districts of Naumburg and Neustadt, and the town of Geirhausen, under condition of paying a constant rent of 22,500 florins to the Landgrave of Hesse-Rothenburg. The Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt,

for surrendering certain rights on the cities of Wetzlar and Frankfort, and some Hessian districts, receives the Duchy of Westphalia and different districts of Mentz, subject to a constant rent, &c.—Sect. 12. Nassau Dillenburgh, the late Hereditary Stadtholder, receives the abbeys and provostships of Hoffen, St. Gerold, Banderen, and all the chapters, provostships, and convents situate in the territory assigned him.—Sect. 25. The Seat of Mentz shall be transferred to the cathedral of Ratisbon, and the dignity of elector, archchancellor and primate of Germany, shall be perpetually united to it. His metropolitan jurisdiction shall extend over the old ecclesiastical provinces of Mentz, Cologn, and Treves, as far as they extend on the right bank of the Rhine, and excepting the territory of the King of Prussia. The Elector of Mentz receives the principality and city of Ratisbon, and Wetzlar, with the title of a county.—Sect. 27. The College of Imperial Cities shall for the future consist of the free and independent cities of Augsburgh, Lubeck, Nuremburgh, Frankfort, Bremen, and Hamburgh. They shall possess their respective territories in full sovereignty and jurisdiction. They shall also enjoy a perfect neutrality in all wars of the Empire, and shall be always exempt from any military contribution, ordinary or extraordinary; and in all questions of war or peace, shall be entirely and necessarily dispensed from acceding to the resolutions of the Empire; they shall also separately receive the following indemnities, &c.

Augsburg, Oct. 14.—The Chancellor of the Bishop of Passau, M. de Rademacher, has repaired to Ratisbon, to solicit the Deputation of the Empire, not to separate the city and fortress of Passau from the rest of the bishopric. It appears, moreover, that representations have been made by the mediating powers, to engage the Court of Vienna to withdraw its troops from the city and bishopric; already the Prince Bishop has notified to the Magistracy of Passau, that the presence of the Austrian troops will not be of longer duration, and that it had no other object by the military occupation of the country, than to prevent it from being dismembered.

Paris, Oct. 15.—It is said that the Minister of the Interior is to accompany the First Consul in the journey which he is about to make to Havre, Rouen, and Cherbourg, which is expected to take place very soon.

Ratisbon, Oct. 15.—The Deputation of the Empire held yesterday its fifteenth sitting—Mentz and Hesse-Cassel voted for the new plan of Indemnities; the majority is consequently in favour of that plan. Bohemia, Saxony, and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, have not yet voted.—The Deputation have not yet agreed to a *conclusum*; they wait till the Minister of Bohemia has received instructions from Vienna.—The Russian Legation here has received instructions to accede to the alterations in the second plan of Indemnities, as sent from Paris.—The Russian and French Ministers gave in another note to the Deputation of the Empire on the 13th, containing some emendations of the 11th article of the new plan of Indemnities; at the conclusion they again earnestly recommend to the Deputation to vote a *conclusum* on the plan.—Many reclamations have already been given in against the new plan of Indemnities. The most remarkable of these, is that of the Deputy for the Electorate of Hanover, relative to considerable advantages granted to the City of Bremen, and especially the grant of the district and territory of Vegesack, which is claimed as territorial property of the Electorate of Hanover.

Lausanne, Oct. 16.—We learn from Berne that the army of the Confederates has just been disbanded. There is now consequently no obstacle to the return of the government to that city. The first Helvetic demi-brigade marched from hence yesterday morning, and will arrive to-morrow evening at Berne. The Senate decreed in its last sitting, that all its members should assemble together at Berne on the 18th. The Executive Council will not set out till to-morrow.

Berne.—Colonel Rapp has traversed Switzerland: he has found the towns and villages a prey to misfortunes—the dismal attendants of civil war. His presence calmed every alarm. The bodies assembled have been dispersed.—The 1st and 2d Helvetic demi-brigades are on their march to form the garrison of our city. The arrival of the Senate is announced for the day after to-morrow. Deputies from all parts of Switzerland are about to proceed to Paris.—We begin to hope that our revolution, which has been continued and renewed annually for eight years, is approaching its end. Let us at length enjoy every thing good and useful it promised; and let the government under which we are destined to live, not signalize the triumph of any party, and be consecrated by the union of all its citizens.—Weak as we are in comparison of the surrounding powers, can we pretend to an honourable independence, a peaceful neutrality, if we continue divided!—The sentiments of the whole Helvetic people are united in these three wishes:—1st. A Constitution in which the oligarchy may never re-appear, and which at the same time may ensure the equality of the citizens—the equality of our eighteen cantons—the equality of the five religions which the different parties of Helvetia profess! 2d. A Constitution suited to the diversity and inequalities of our territory, by which Underwald, Berne, Lausanne, and Basle, may be governed according to the local circumstances, languages, and manners peculiar to them.—In the last place our third wish, no less national than the other two, is, to see maintained, in their whole integrity, our ancient relations with the French people, and the men who are in the pay of foreign powers, deprived of all their influence. In the bosom even of a general conflagration, its real interest is to remain neuter: this will never be that of a Bachman and a Vatteville, who since their infancy have served those powers, which are enemies to France. If war should again be kindled up in Europe, and if, as was the case with the King of Sardinia and the Republic of Venice, neutrality should to us become impossible; the alliance of France would be our only wish, our justest and dearest interest.—There is not one of us who does not think the Swiss united to the French, will always defend with glory our mountains, and render impenetrable to the enemy our plains and our large towns, such as Zurich, Berne, Soleure, Fribourg, Basle, and Lausanne.—In a word, there is not one of us who is not sensible that our political system ought to be that of our fathers, who, through a love for liberty and for their country, were always intimately connected with France.—If any man, born in our territories, does not participate with us in this

opinion, he does not think like a real Swiss. He abandons himself blindly to affections foreign to the interests of his country.—The cry of rallying around the nation is equality among the cantons, the independence of Helvetia, and concert with the French Republic.—*Moniteur.*

Berne, Oct. 17.—The Deputies which our Provisional Government sent in order to consult with the Diet of Schwitz, respecting the steps that ought to be taken in the present situation of affairs, have returned: they have brought an order to General Bachmann, to disband the Confederate Army. Yesterday and the day before, the contingent troops belonging to the smaller Cantons returned home. Those belonging to Schwitz carried with them an Helvetic standard, which they took in the battle of the 3d inst. The levies of troops which were ordered in several of the Cantons, have been suspended. General Auf-dermaur passed through this city a few days ago, on his way to Schwitz. General Bachmann is here with his staff. Citizen Guadolphe, Secretary of Legation to Citizen Verninac, has invited the Commission of Ten to re-assemble, and has made some important propositions to them. Yesterday General Rapp gave a grand dinner, at which General Bachmann and his staff were present. The Helvetic government are not yet arrived here.

Basle, Oct. 18.—The troops belonging to Basle, which were ready to march on the first signal to join the Army of General Bachmann, are to remain here until farther orders. It is said that the Diet of Schwitz will govern the Republic until the government is definitively organized, and the Members of the Central Government, who are to return to Berne, have given in their resignations. —The 1st and 2d Helvetic half-brigades ought to have arrived by this time in this city. The troops on both sides are to be disbanded.

DOMESTIC.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

BANKRUPTS.

Annesley, Abraham Levy, Chiswell-street, merchant.—Augarde, Francis Joseph, and Francis Joseph Alaicant, Oxford-street, hosiers and hatters. —Clark, Daniel, Liverpool, master mariner.—Britt, William, Loddon, Norfolk, shopkeeper.—Peach, Robert, Wakefield, York, woolstapler.—Jowet, Joseph, Rothwell, York, coal miner.—Wheldale, William, Oxford-street, linen draper.—Nix, James, Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, breeches maker.—Hodgson, Luke, Cow-lane, apothecary.—Cawthorn, Samuel, York, grocer.

MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

Marriages.—On Tuesday, at Totteridge, Hants, the Rev. Thos. Cope Marsham, vicar of Kew and Petersham, to Miss Maitland.

Deaths.—On Friday, at his house in Duke-street, Westminster, Dr. Arnold.—A few days since, at Kew, George D'Auber, esq. late Captain of the 11th Light Dragoons.

STOCKS.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI
Bank Stock	—	—	—	—	—	179
3 pr. C.R. An.	66⅜	—	—	67¼	—	66⅞
3 per C. Con.	67⅝	—	—	68⅝	—	67½
4 pr C. Cons.	83¼	—	—	83⅜	—	83¼
5 pr Ct. Ann.	100	—	—	101	—	100½
Bank L. Ann.	19⅛	—	—	19 11/16	—	9 11/16
D° S. 1778 & 9	4½	—	—	—	—	4½
5 per Ct. 1797	99⅜	—	—	—	—	99½
Omnium	10¼ di	—	—	9 dis	—	10¼ di

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c.f.	11 2	2 us.	Leghorn		51¼
D°, at sight	11		Naples		43½
Rotterdam	11 3	2 us.	Genoa		47¼
Hamburgh	33 4	2 us.	Venice, 54 livres piccole effective per £. ster.		
Altona	33 5	2 us.	Lisbon		68
Paris 1 day	23 15		Oporto		68
Paris	24 2	2 us.	Dublin		12
Bourdeaux,	24 3		Bilboa		36¼ D°
Cadiz	36¼	eff.	Agio, bank on Hol.		p.
Madrid	36⅜	effective			

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q.	43s to 62s	Hops per cwt.	120s to 273s
Rye	33 .. 35	Hay per load	86 .. 150
Barley	23 .. 27	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5s.
Malt	44 .. 47	Mutton	4s. 0d. to 5s. 6d.
Oats	14 .. 23	Veal	4s. 0d. to 5s. 4d.
Pease (white)	44 .. 49	Pork	4s. 8d. to 5s. 8d.
Beans (horse)	33 .. 35	Tallow	4s. 2d.
Flour per sack	50 .. 53	Av. of Sugar pr cw	33s. 10d
Seconds	45 .. 50	Salt, per Bushel	13s. 10d.
Coals per chal.	43 .. 49	Bread 10d the Quar. Loaf.	

Days.	M'sage	Weather, near *Guildford.*	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. Deg. M.	Ther. Deg. A.
21		Windy.	w-s	wsw	29,75	29,74	53	57
22		Rain.	sw	sw	29,65	29,65	55	59
23		Fine.	w	sw	29,63	29,63	54	57
24		Rain Fair	sw	sw	29,61	29,51	56	60
25		Rain.	sw	sw	29,55	29,28	50	51-5
26	●	Showery.	sw	sw	29,3	29,28	50	53
27		Fog Fair	nw	nw	29,35	29,42	47	52

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majesty's Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,—Previous to the discussion of the "high matter," of which I spoke to your lordship, at the close of my last letter (p. 510), previous to any remarks respecting the necessity of a total change in the war-politics of the country, it is incumbent on me to show, that the evils and dangers, which I attribute to the policy hitherto pursued, do really exist, which, I trust, I shall do, to the entire satisfaction of your lordship, in discussing the 4th, and remaining proposition of my former letter; to wit: *That, though for various reasons, the present dispute with France may not terminate in open hostility; yet that, in whatever way that dispute is accommodated for the present, this nation must, ere long, be at war with France, and that the peace will then be found to have produced an irretrievable injury to our positive naval and military, domestic and foreign.*

Those who have paid attention to the progress of French encroachment, will not need to be reminded, that the subjugation of every country which she has enslaved, has been preceded by several previous quarrels and accommodations; by the alternate use of which she has very seldom failed to accomplish her ends. This is the course she will endeavour to pursue with us. It is, indeed, the course she has actually entered on, and which, till within these few weeks, has been attended with uninterrupted success.

The check she has met with has arisen from the personal determination of His Majesty, rather than from any remains of resistance in your lordship and your colleagues, who will be overjoyed to find a plausible pretext for avoiding hostilities, a pretext with which you will most probably be furnished. The affairs of Switzerland will, as I observed in my last letter, (Register, p. 501) be settled without your aid, and in such a way as to leave, to the present ministers at least, not the smallest ground of complaint against the First Consul. The attempts, which Buonaparté has made to interfere in the internal concerns of *this* country, as well as his insolent endeavours *to degrade our Sovereign*, may be given up, or, at least, so far receded from, as to furnish the ministers with an excuse for a reconciliation; and, as "the falling out of "lovers produces a renewal of love," which is generally attended with some fresh token of affection and constancy, I think it very probable, that the token, on this occasion, may, on our part, be the island of Malta. Indeed, I have not, as yet, heard any argument on which ministers can defend their conduct in retaining Malta. Russia and Prussia have, it is asserted, refused to guarantee the new arrangement respecting this important island, and Spain has, perhaps, acted contrary to our meaning, though not against the letter of the treaty, in confiscating the property of the Spanish *Langues*. What then? The two former were only *to be invited* prospectively to *accede to the stipulations*. If they did not choose to do so, the obligation between the parties, who did *definitively* contract, remains. Cards of invitation were to be sent to the powers of Europe, but, as some one observed at the time, what if they should not think the pic-nic entertainment of the order of St. John to their taste? The theatrical amusements of Malta must proceed, though we, as subscribers, may bear the greatest proportion of the loss. We have, at Amiens, agreed, that Malta shall be what we choose to call independent, and restored to the Order of St. John on certain conditions. France and Great-Britain are to be only two of the guaranteeing powers, if they please. What, then, has the Order of St. John to do with Buonaparté's interference with Switzerland and Holland, or with any other instance or instances of his ambition? If the grand master (supposing him to be legally chosen) should demand the island at our hands, and if the troops of the King of Naples should arrive to garrison it, we are positively bound to evacuate the place, not to France, but to the Knights. How, then, can we keep it consistently with good faith? *

Strange as it may appear, my lord, there are not wanting persons to contend, that the arguments, made use of by the opposers of the peace, will justify ministers in retaining Malta. To those who make no distinction between *right* and *might*, this way of reasoning may appear perfectly satisfactory; but to those who do make such distinction, it will, I imagine, appear exactly the contrary. The reasons urged by the opposers of the peace applied well to the situation of things *previous* to the peace, previous to the signing of a solemn treaty by which Malta was to be surrendered; but, how can those reasons be construed to justify the retaining of Malta now, merely by way of counter-balancing the power which France may acquire by means of Holland, of Switzerland, or of new ports on the coast of Africa, if such she has obtained? But, if there be any other just cause of quarrel, the whole treaty of Amiens, under which alone any authority can make a valid title against our *possession* of Malta, will be null and void; and *Germany* alone presents directly such a cause of quarrel. There England has, and has always had, an immediate interest. England has been, for more than a century,

* The sprightly Mr. Chalmers, with whose *weighty* defence of the peace, the mail bags were crammed for several weeks, has the following most delightful passage respecting Malta:—"Our mo-"deration has concurred with our policy, in re-"storing Malta to its true owners. By placing it "prudently in their hands, under *a most powerful* "*guarantee*, we have counteracted the state, who "was ambitious to possess it, under whatever title. "*In our hands, Malta had been an enormous expense,* "*without any perceivable profit.*"—Yet, this island, which is an "enormous expense, without any per-"ceivable profit," is now, we are told, to be retained by way of balancing the continental and other encroachments of France! The inconsistencies, the flat contradictions, the downright absurdities, into which the makers and defenders of this peace have fallen, are without end.

a guarrantee of the constitution which, to this moment, exists there. She is party to various treaties, (not yet cancelled) with the House of Austria, confirming that constitution; and the Electorate of Hanover has a connexion, of the most intimate kind, with the united kingdom. The ministers have (in the True Briton of the 25th instant) insisted, that the ambitious strides of France, particularly when "they tend to weaken "and distress those nations, who either are "at the present moment, or are most likely "to become in future, the allies of the "British Empire, must be considered as *a "breach of the treaty we have entered into,* "which, it must be evident, virtually im- "plies, that, whilst the peace continues, "no material change shall be effected by "France, in the relative state of Europe." This, to be sure, is supremely inconsistent and ridiculous, as coming from the lips of those men, who, even *during the negotiations at Amiens*, suffered Buonaparté to make himself the head of the Italian Republic, and to name Piedmont the "twenty-seventh "military division of France;" who concluded that treaty, leaving French troops in Holland and Switzerland, and without making any stipulation for their removal: nor am I sure, that any of the continental aggressions of France can be fairly construed into *a breach of the treaty of Amiens*; but there may be good cause of war without a breach of any positive compact, and that Buonaparté's mandate to the Emperor and Empire of Germany is such a cause no one can entertain a doubt. Yet, my lord, even here, where the best possible ground for a war presents itself, there is an obstacle in the way, which the ministers will be very glad to find an excuse for declining to encounter. The conduct of Buonaparté, with respect to Germany, may merit all the epithets which has been bestowed on it; his views may be even more wicked than those ascribed to him; but, it will, in any and in every case, as relating to this transaction, be very difficult to separate the Consul of France from the Emperor of Russia; every remonstrance addressed to the one will apply equally well to the other; and, unless some alteration of system, which the change of ministry in Russia may, *possibly* produce, should take place, it is very clear, that all attempt at resistance, on our part, would be vain, unless both the Emperor of Germany and the Swiss could be brought to co-operate with us, and of this there is not now the most distant hope.

These reasons, my lord, together with the dread of the mortification, the shame, the utter confusion, which an open rupture with France would, so soon after the peace, and with our position so materially changed for the worse, bring upon you and your colleagues, will lead you most eagerly to catch at every opportunity for patching up an accommodation; and Buonaparté, unless his plans against us are perfectly ripe, which I think they are not, will not be inclined to hasten a state of things, in which he must foresee that the present ministers cannot preserve their places. Any change of men, without a change of measures and of principles, would not, indeed, be greatly injurious to his projects; but, he must be well persuaded, that no set of men are less likely to oppose his will, than those from whose trembling hands he extorted the release of Napper Tandy; a persuasion which will, probably, induce him to enable them to meet the parliament with something like a promise of a continuation of "the blessings of peace."

But, my lord, whatever be the manner, inw hich the present dispute may terminate, peace with France, under her present rulers, it is impossible for us long to have, unless we purchase it by an absolute submission to her. I do not mean a figurative, but a literal submission, a real *bonâ fide* surrender, not of those undefinable abstract possessions called liberty and independence, but of our tangible property, our gold and our silver, our household stuff, our persons, and the land that we walk upon.

From the first dawn of the French revolution to the present hour, the great, the leading object, of all the successive rulers of that country has been the destruction of England: not her humiliation, not her impoverishment, but her political destruction, as the means of facilitating their scheme of universal empire, a scheme towards the accomplishment of which they have, with our good aid, made more progress during the last six months than during the whole of the ten preceding years.

"*Universal empire*" (says an excellent writer on the conquests and ambition of France) "is, in itself, an extravagant ex- "pression, and was so even in the proudest "days of ancient Rome; but, let it be "taken in this confined sense, that there "exists a nation, who expect to unite the "greatest part of Europe in an empire "almost as extensive as the Roman, or, "at least, as the empire of Charlemagne; "in such a sense it is not an impossible

" object." So far from its being an *impossible* object, it is an object already nearly, if not quite, accomplished. The population of Europe, according to the best authorities, does not amount to 140 millions of souls: the dominions which the French now include under the name of *France*, contain, according to a census recently taken, upwards of 35 millions, that is to say, more than one-fourth part of the whole population of Europe. Add to this the population of the states, which they hold as vassals, and which are, to all the intents and purposes of power, a part of the empire of France, and you will find, that the aggregate population of this empire amounts to upwards of seventy-five millions of souls, more, in *number*, than one-half, and, in point of *influence*, moral and physical, particularly as directed against England, more than *two-thirds*, of all Europe.

Nor do the republican rulers, my lord, by any means, disguise their intentions. The "safe politicians," such as Lords Castlereagh and your lordship, had, indeed, at the time of concluding the treaty of Amiens, discovered in the government of France, a return to principles of *moderation* and *justice*, and the still "*safer* politician," Sir Edward Law, seemed to think that Mr. Elliot should incur the censure of the House for making that moderation and justice *a matter of doubt*; but, whatever might be the professions, or the circumstances, which you might have heard or perceived at that time, your opinion has been furiously shaken by subsequent events, and by the present professions of Buonaparté and his co-operators. The act which announces the union of Piedmont with France, informs us, that the Piedmontese were the first to open their gates to "the *conquerors of the world*." Paris is, in the title of a work just received from thence, called "the *metropolis of the world*." Another work, published at Paris, and entitled *The greatest act of Buonaparté*, has the following passage:—"All the "powers of Europe are weakened, disconcerted, and no longer able to defend themselves: around him the universe is silent . . . . Under the reign of Augustus, "*universal peace* was the fore-runner of *a more sublime empire*: under the Consulship "of the august young man, it prepares the way for its restoration. I could push the comparison still further; I could shew you *the mistress of the world*, embracing all nations in one common tye, uniting all interests in one common center; all diversities of manners and of languages assimilated; *all nations subordinate to the great nation*: a young hero, absorbing all factions, combining all by the energy and address of his own character, accomplishes the great work. . . . Such was the moment fixed on, by the Saviour of the world, for the introduction of an unknown light. That light, after eighteen centuries, suddenly and totally extinguished, again breaks forth: . . . the comparison between the two epochs is too striking, the features too strongly marked, the affinity too evident to our senses, not to be discovered by the most inattentive observer. . . . . To new model the almost dissolved elements of civil society; to unite in one common bond, the various ties dissolved by the dreadful convulsion; and *on the basis of the great republic to raise one universal republic—this is the great work of the present day!*" Buonaparté himself, has, in terms by no means equivocal, expressed the same notion: "The "*English*, the *French*, the *Germans*, the "*Italians*, &c. living under the same civil code, &c. are all members of *one family*, and those men who wish to kindle war amongst them, are advocates for *civil war*."

To dissipate the alarms excited by intimations of this sort, weak and pusillanimous persons believe, or affect to believe, that if the French really entertained such a project as I am now speaking of, they would keep it a secret from the world. Such a belief, however, is clearly contradicted by a long train of operations and events, at which we need not at all wonder, when we consider the natural tendency of such a system, when regularly and indefatigably pursued. A project of conquest if attempted to be put in execution the moment its conception is first announced to the party to be conquered, has to encounter not only the physical difficulties of the enterprize, but also the whole weight of the alarm and indignation, which the first mention of it naturally excites; but, after telling a people, that they must and shall be your slaves, give them time to cool, to think and talk about your intention; let the idea become familiar to their minds; let them once regard the thing as possible, and put them if you can under the guidance of a ministry, who shall teach them to weigh subjugation and the "blessings of peace" against independence and the "horrors of war." This is the course which the French have pursued, and which has hitherto, in no one instance, that I know of, failed of success. And yet we affect not to hear, or, hearing, not to understand, or, understand-

ing, not to believe, the audible, the plain and positive declarations addressed by this nation to ourselves! To professions of peace and amity, on the part of the republicans of France, we listen with all that eagerness and ecstasy, with which the silly girl of sixteen imbibes the protestations of her seducer; but, as to their menaces, their denunciations of vengeance, of chastisement and of destruction, we are, or affect to be, perfectly incredulous. In this respect, reason upon reason, warning upon warning, have been bestowed on us in vain: experience, which is said to make fools wise, has, on this score, left us as foolish as it found us: we are absolutely incorrigible, and our incorrigibility, I am sorry to say it, arises from precisely that passion, which is at once the most disgraceful to ourselves and the most favourable to the projects of our enemy: a base passion, made up of selfishness and cowardice, leads us to affect an ignorance of what we dare not encounter: like chickens at the approach of the kite, we hide our heads and our eyes from the danger which we have not the courage to resist; and, like those timid animals too, we shall *feel* the blow, though we are determined not to see it.

This hostility against us, not of Buonaparté or any other individual, or of any particular faction or sect, but of the whole mass of French republicans; this settled hostile purpose against us, this resolution to destroy us, cost what it will, whether of time, or of money, or of lives; this end, to which all other projects are subservient, to which the encroachments in the Mediterranean, in Italy, in Switzerland, and in Germany, must be considered merely as means; this it is which we must resist with success, or implicitly yield to. There is no medium: those who, with a due mixture of folly and of malice, exclaimed against "*eternal war*," will soon perceive, probably, that they are destined to something still worse. They must now beat France, or become the subjects, that is to say, the slaves of France. Nor is there much time for deliberation. A twelvemonth will see us completely bound hand and foot: already are we partly surrounded, cooped up and cramped by our pursuer: his net is drawing over us, and unless we instantly cut it with the sword, our future struggles will be in vain.

However, my lord, to leave the defenders of the peace no room for cavil, I am content, in considering a new war in connection with the effects of the peace, to take the question upon the ground of the *existing dispute* between the governments of England and France. This dispute has prevented the interchange of ambassadors, it has put a stop to the execution of that part of the treaty of peace, which, on our side, remained unexecuted; it has occasioned a new armament, even before all the alacrity of ministers to reduce us to a state of helplessness, was able completely to disarm us; it has had, on the feelings of the nation, on the speculations in commerce and in the funds, on the "capital, credit, and confidence" of the country, all the effects of a war, determined on by both parties, but not actually declared. The political blindness and imbecility of those, by whom the peace was made and defended, is, therefore, as fully proved by *the present state of things*, as if the fleets were at this moment engaged in the Bay of Biscay, or, as if Buonaparté's marauders were sacking the city of London.

Thus situated, then, it behoves us, my lord, to enquire into *the change which these six months of peace have made in our position, naval and military, domestic and foreign.* But, this part of the subject I am reluctantly obliged to postpone to my next. In the mean time, I have the honour to remain, &c. &c. WM. COBBETT.

London, 25th Oct. 1802.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Events of importance follow each other so quick, that it is absolutely impossible for our reflections to keep pace with them.—The Swiss have, as it was natural to expect, submitted to France. There are persons, who are still credulous enough to think, that the submission is only of a temporary nature, and that a new resistance will soon break out. Alas! "we are become great *hopers*," hopers in every thing but in our own exertions! Let any one look at the answer (p. 523) of the Diet of Schwitz (which was, by the *lovers of peace*, thought, at first, to be a fabrication of the French); let him look at the proclamation of the Council of War of the Swiss League (p. 524); let him look at Talleyrand, the honest Talleyrand's letter (p. 525) to Mr. de Cetto, and then let him believe, if he can, that the submission of the Swiss is of a *temporary* nature. The letter of Talleyrand, which, impudent and insolent as it is, the makers and defenders of the Peace of Amiens cannot, with any reason or justice complain of, is addressed to the "*neighbouring powers.*" And can the wiseacres complain of this? Did they not want to be rid of continental connections? Did they not say that we were "*too honest*" to

have connections with any of the continental powers? Buonaparté appears to have believed them, and seems to have determined to guard their morals from all danger of continental corruption.—No, no; it is not a *temporary* submission, but a submission which is never to cease, till the republic of France is once more engaged and overcome. "Holland, *Switzerland*, and the whole of "Italy, are provinces subservient and tributary to the empire of France; they recruit, "pay, and clothe her armies, they enrich "her generals and her commissaries; her "ambassadors are the legislators, the ministers, the real sovereigns, the absolute "despots, of those states, which your lordship and your colleagues wish to regard "as *independent*. These states are all cut "off from every relationship with one another, except the yoke which is their "common portion. *What resistance, my lord, "can they now make against her will? Their "murmurs would be instantly drowned in their "blood, and the hour of their revolt would be "that of their destruction.*" (Cobbett's letters on the peace, p. 75.) These times and circumstances were, then, foretold? Indeed, he must be an idiot, who could not have foretold them.—The manner in which Buonaparté has settled with the Swiss precisely corresponds with our expectations, as expressed in the preceding sheet, (p. 501.) That pretext for quarrel is, however, it seems, abandoned, on the part of our ministers, who have now taken a new ground, whereon to make their stand. This is, *the union of Piedmont with France*, together with the recent proceedings *in regard to the island and order of Malta*. With respect to Malta we shall say nothing, till the grounds of complaint are specified; but, as to *Piedmont*, can Lord Hawkesbury and his colleagues, can the defenders of the peace, can the approvers of that ruinous and disgraceful measure, can those whom that measure plunged "into a tumult of exultation and a delirium of joy"; can these, or any of these, have the assurance to complain of Buonaparté for uniting Piedmont with France? "Your "friend, the consul, my lord, has been, on "the subject of Piedmont, more communicative than you. He has lately told the "French, and has left this cowardly country to hear it at second hand, that "*Le "Piedmont forme notre 27e division militaire!*" "without another word! without any apology for the seizure, or any apprehension "of the displeasure of the monarchies of "Europe in consequence thereof!"—(Cobbett's letters on the peace, p. 53. published in October last.) And, shall we now affect to be surprised at what has *lately* taken place? Shall the "ministers of peace and plenty," the "*safe* politicians," be allowed to avail themselves of the union of Piedmont with France as "*a ground of quarrel which could not be foreseen!*" As a proof of "A NEW *hostile* "*mind in the First Consul!*" We trust not: we trust, that there will not be wanting men of independence and of spirit, to ring in their ears those re-iterated, those irrefragible proofs of their imbecility.—There is, too, something of a *commercial* nature appertaining to Piedmont, which has, we believe, greatly assisted in inducing the sages of Downing-street to shift the pretext for their hostile purposes from Switzerland to the former country. The Norwich wiseacres, the constituents of patriot Smith, the lovers of "peace and a large loaf," have discovered, that the peace, which they so yearned after, and which they embraced with such ecstasy, has produced very little increase in the size of their loaf, while it threatens a great diminution of it, at no very distant epoch, by the total destruction of their communication with Italy, and particularly with Piedmont, which furnished the most valuable part of their trade. Could the effects be confined exclusively to *them*; could *they* suffer without any danger to our country in general, and to his Majesty's throne in particular, how sincerely should we rejoice at the grasping and unchecked ambition of Buonaparté! "And why?" say the men of candour; "what good does it do to re-"mind the world of the language and con-"duct of those who rejoiced at the peace?" —What *good!* what *good!* What good does it do, then, to proclaim, to record, or to punish, any folly or any crime? Why cashier the coward? why crop the perjurer? why hang the thief? "Aye, but the peace "is made, and it cannot be unmade," So is the theft committed, and it cannot be uncommitted.—The fact is, all the well-meaning, quiet, mighty good sort of men, who wish the folly and the turpitude of the peace to be forgotten, have themselves to answer for some degree of that folly or that turpitude, and they disapprove of our censure, for reasons precisely similar to those, which induced the mob of Burdett to clamour against the Bastile.

It is now discovered that we must *sink without continental connexions*; but where is the power who will venture to connect itself with the makers of the peace of Amiens? with those men, who, as far as depended on them, rivetted the chains of the conti-

nent? With those very men, whose pharisaical supporters have publicly declared them to be "*too honest*" to have any connexions with the continental powers? With the men, the "too honest men," who received Ceylon and Trinidad from the hands of Buonaparté, and who sent the Stadholder to seek, (for sacrifices made *to us*,) an indemnity in the plunder of our German allies? Where is the power who will deign to connect itself with a nation governed by ministers like these?—Let it not be imagined, however, that we are ever anxious about a *mere change of ministry*. We have certainly no *private* end which would be answered by such a change; and, as to the public, it would derive very little, if any, benefit from a change of *men*, unaccompanied by a radical change, not only of measures, but of notions and of principles. We must have war with the Republic of France, or we must become a province, a military division (le 28e division militaire), of France; but, if that war is to be conducted upon the same principles, or rather the same *no*-principles, that the last war was, we, for our parts, think it a matter of perfect indifference *who are the men*: the "respectable" sire of the Clerk of the Pells, or even the Clerk of the Pells himself, on whom the simpletons of Reading have just bestowed the honorary title of Captain of Volunteers, would lead us under the yoke as well as any body else.

The affairs at the Diet of Ratisbon have assumed an aspect somewhat new; but, as will be seen by a reference to the official papers (p. 522,) and to abridgement of the supplementary plan of indemnities (p 528), which, however, we do not give positively as authentic, nothing decisive has yet been done. One article of news from Ratisbon, if it be true, is of great importance; that is, that the *Elector of Hanover* has objected to the supplementary plan.

We wish for some good from the change of ministry at St. Petersburgh; but, we want the evidence of some act to give us any reliance on aid to be expected from that court. M. Markhoff is still at Paris; and the *last* note given into the Diet at Ratisbon, must have been approved of by the new ministry. These circumstances, particularly the latter, leave little foundation for hope from that quarter. It is possible, that the Emperor of Russia may yet be withdrawn from the politics of France; but we do not think it very likely at present; and, unless it be done soon, it will be very difficult to do it at all.

The Mediterranean is now the interesting scene. Buonaparté certainly has an intention to make some bold push in that quarter; and we should not wonder to hear, by-and-by, that his fleet has sailed from Toulon, while he, by the tour which he is about to make, fixes our attention on the sea-ports of the channel. The Mediterranean is open to him. Minorca and Elba are in his hands; our force in Egypt is reduced to a mere nothing; a few days fortunate sailing will again put his army in possession of Egypt, and that country, once re-possessed, will never again be evacuated, though another Lord Hawkesbury should obtain another stipulation to that effect. The re-occupation of Egypt by the French would be a just judgment upon this country, the people of which illuminated their houses for the treaty, by which their ministers most shamefully affected to obtain the evacuation, at the very moment when they knew that the enemy had capitulated, and who expressed no sign of joy, or of praise, when that capitulation was officially announced! A more striking instance of baseness and ingratitude was, perhaps, never exhibited by any nation in the world. When they regarded the evacuation as a boon granted by France, they were frantic with delight, they hugged the bearer of the tidings, they became his cattle, his beasts of burden, they licked the hem of his jacobin garment; but, when, a few days afterwards, they found that this same good had been obtained by the valour, the perseverance, the almost unheard of hardships, of His Majesty's army, the base wretches seemed to sicken at the sound; not a single shout of approbation, not a candle was lighted, on this account, in the whole kingdom of Great-Britain, except at the office of the Porcupine news-paper! Such a nation cannot stand! The example, the scandalous example, was, in both these instances, set by His Majesty's ministers; who, to celebrate their own disgraceful peace, expended thousands upon thousands of the public money, but, for the glorious campaign, by which Egypt was re-conquered, *not a single penny!* Of all the acts of an administration which has led us from disgrace to disgrace, this, in our opinion, was the most shameful.—It will take a great deal to wash us from these stains.

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